

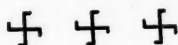
RECORDS ^{OF} THE PAST

VOL. III



PART V

MAY, 1904



THE MACEDONIAN TOMB AND THE BATTLEFIELD OF CHAIRONEIA

BY ARTHUR STODDARD COOLEY, PH. D.

NO town, for a place of its size, in Greece is more noted than Chaironeia; for beside being the birthplace of Plutarch, near it, as at Thermopylæ, were fought 3 battles of importance. In 447 B. C., the Bœotians defeated here the Athenians; on the 7 of Metageitnion (August 1?), 338 B. C., Philip II of Macedon and the young Alexander defeated the allied Greeks; and in 86 B. C. Sulla and his Roman army conquered the generals of Mithradates. Here again, as at Thermopylæ, we distinguish one battle *par excellence* by the name of the place; Thermopylæ brings to our mind Leonidas and his Spartans against the myriads of Xerxes in 480; when we speak of the Battle of Chaironeia, we mean that of 338 B. C. In both of these battles an invader finally overcame the Greeks; in both a devoted band died to a man—at Chaironeia it was the "Sacred Band" of the Thebans, who for once fought on the side of their fellow Greeks; on both fields a stone lion was erected as a monument to the heroes who thus sacrificed their lives.

Visitors to the place have noticed a short distance to the east of Kapraina, the modern village on the site of Chaironeia, near the highway, the fragments of the colossal stone lion erected after this battle over the grave of the Theban Sacred Band. Intact until the last century, it was blown up with gunpowder by Odysseus Androutsos, the

hero of Gravia, and one of the chiefs in the Greek Revolution, on the supposition that it contained treasure. For years the Greek Archaeological Society has been planning to restore it, and in 1879 excavated the *polyandron* (common tomb) of the Thebans near by, on which it had stood. At last the work is being accomplished; the base has been restored, the fragments of the lion are being put together by Mr. Sochos, a native of Tenos, working as a sculptor at Paris, and the lion itself will soon be set up again.

The preliminary work was entrusted to Dr. Georgios Soteriades, one of the ephors of antiquities, who has made important discoveries in Aetolia, especially at Thermos. [See his account in *RECORDS OF THE PAST*, June, 1902, pp. 172-181.] I will let him tell his own story, quoting from a personal letter, dated at Chaironeia, November 19, December 2, 1902:

I was sent by the Ministry (of Education) and the (Archæological) Society here to Chaironeia. A double work was assigned me: First, to oversee the rebuilding of the base of the Lion. . . . and second, to carry on excavations to seek for the polyandron of the Macedonians mentioned by Plutarch in the *Life of Alexander*, ch. IX. So then, from about the end of August (early September of our calendar) I have been here, and after working for 5 or 6 weeks in the scorching heat of the Greek sun I am now enduring all the discomforts of a winter very rainy and quite cold, in the house of a peasant of Kapraina, with privations not a few. . . . I am waiting for good weather, but will it ever come? All Parnassos and the lower mountains are covered with snow; here rain, much mud, and cold hold sway.

After describing the restoration of the base of the lion, he turns to the second and more important object of his mission.

My excavations are going quite well. First I excavated a mound near the Kephisos, where under walls, cisterns, and graves of Roman times and Christian graves I found skeletons, from which I supposed at first that I had most probably discovered the graves of the Macedonians. But immediately again I recognized that I had been deceived, for on digging into the soil which was free from Roman buildings and graves I found fragments of vases at the latest of the geometric type. In any case the skeletons are panarchaic. Accordingly, after I had examined minutely the portion excavated, I collected carefully all the finds and with the aid of the surveyor prepared the plan of this trial excavation. Then I left this mound to be examined later and sent ashes from the stratum of the bodies (to a chemist) to assure myself whether this contains elements of bones and so to know whether the dead in these panarchaic graves were cremated or simply buried. I believe they were only buried and that the ashes come from the sacrifices of animals and the funeral feasts.

This opinion seems to have been confirmed by the chemical analysis. Not only the vase-fragments discovered in the sub-Roman strata of this mound, which rises to a height of less than 12 ft. above the plain, but also some stone tools and idols of clay and stone indicate that it is prehistoric. Moreover, Dr. Soteriades sought in vain in its vicinity for remains of classical time, even for graves from the period of the battle of 338.

Satisfied that this mound was not the polyandrium of the Macedonians he proceeded to investigate another also near the Kephisos, but about $2\frac{1}{2}$ kilometers to the east and much nearer the village of Bramagas than Chaironeia. The following account of what he found there and its important bearing on our understanding of the battle, of which we have no wholly satisfactory historical narrative, is made up from sources contributed to the writer by Dr. Soteriades himself—the letter referred to, an article in French in *La Reforme* of Smyrna (April 16, 1903), and his full discussion of the history of the battle under the title *Das Schlachtfeld von Chaeroneia*, in the last number of the *Athenische Mittheilungen* [Band XXVIII, 1903, 3, pp. 301-330].

The second mound is much larger than the other and a conspicuous feature of the plain, rising to a height of 7 m. (about 23 ft.) above the plain, and having a diameter of about 70 m. It has the form of a cone, whose summit has been leveled off. Before commencing work Soteriades had believed this mound to belong to the time of Sulla's campaign against the troops of Mithradates, but his finds soon convinced him that it goes back not to the I but to the IV Century B. C.

I first opened a trench 25 m. long (he writes), and in the center of the mound I broadened this trench to an excavation 5 m. wide, which reached even to the natural soil. Everywhere in all this tomb I found fragments of vases of the IV Century B. C., as I was assured also by Messrs. von Prott and Thiersch, who compared them with those found in the Kabeirion.

Suddenly, at a depth of 7 m., the very hard earth of the mound came to an end and underneath began very loose earth with coals, ashes, bones of animals, vases of the IV Century, belonging for the most part to the epoch of the Bæotian, and above all many weapons of iron—ends of lances, knives, and swords. I should remark that the heads of these lances are extraordinarily long and by their length agree with the Macedonian *sarissas*.

Work was stopped temporarily by the rains and bad weather mentioned in the letter quoted above, and it was not until January, 1903, that he was able to widen the excavation so as to lay bare completely the stratum of ashes, etc., over a surface of 100 square m. and to examine it accurately.

Then the matter was quite clear. On the level of the plain a great funeral pyre had been erected; completely charred or half burnt heavy logs could still be distinguished in the moist, caked mass of ashes and bones. The heap of ashes formed a cone, whose diameter was 10 m. and whose greatest height in the center was about 75 cm. The fire must have been a very fierce one, for only the thicker bones of the cremated bodies, principally vertebrae and arm and leg bones, were to any degree preserved.

The moisture of 2,000 years, also, has done its part to hasten the work of destruction, so that weapons and other objects of iron and bronze are covered with rust or practically destroyed. Some of the lance-heads mentioned above have a length of 38 cm. (nearly 15 in.), including the small part of the socket preserved. A few two-edged swords, long curved knives, and daggers are partially preserved, while among the smaller finds are human teeth, a perfectly preserved arrow-

head, and 2 bronze coins, declared by a numismatologist to be Macedonian.

These facts leave no doubt as to the significance of the funeral mound. The supposition that we may possibly have here a monument from the time of Sulla's campaigns against Archelaos needs no special refutation, for the entire find of vases points not to the I but to the IV Century.

Furthermore, it is to be noted that Plutarch, while he speaks of the victory of Sulla and the trophy he erected in the plain, knows in the region only the tomb of the Macedonians. We know that as a special mark of favor Philip had the Athenian dead burned and their ashes sent to Athens; the 254 heroes of the Theban Sacred Band were buried together by the public highway, where the lion was set up as their appropriate monument; it is utterly improbable that any of the vanquished Greeks could have erected this huge mound over the remains of their dead.

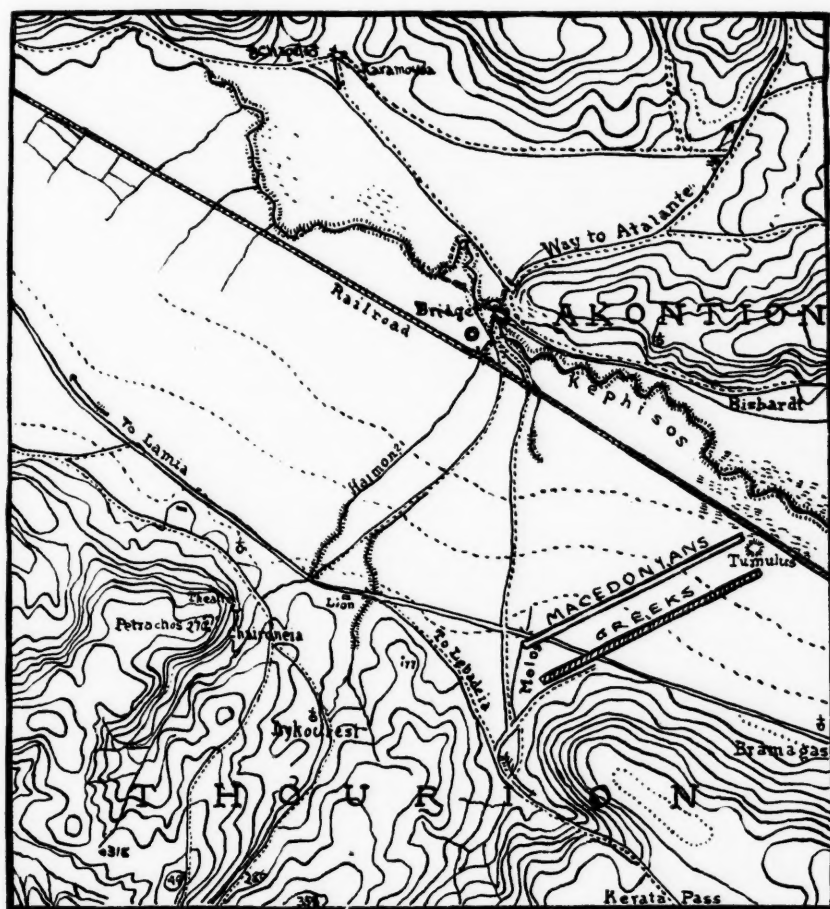
The almost certain identification of this great funeral-mound with the tomb of the Macedonians mentioned by Plutarch reopens for us the question of the positions and movements of both the Macedonians and the allied Greeks on that memorable summer day in 338 B. C. Already in October, 1902, Dr. Soteriades had remarked that the contemporary historians had made a mistake in their topography of the battle. He says:

Whoever has once visited this field of battle cannot share the opinion of Curtius, according to which the allied Greek troops had their rear turned toward the hills of Chaironeia and their front toward the river Kephisos, in which way we should have a sort of battle on the Granikos, because neither does the Kephisos flow near Chaironeia, but at a distance of 2 kilometers, nor had Philip with his Macedonians encamped on the left bank of the river. But what is natural is that the allied Greek troops should in some way have closed like an iron chain the plain between Chaironeia and the commencement of Mt. Akontion. According to this supposition the Athenians (who formed the Greek left) were at Chaironeia and the Thebans on the Kephisos at a point near the bridge over the river, which runs quite near the mountain.

From our accounts of the battle we know that Philip with the right wing of the Macedonians was arrayed against the Athenians, who lost the day by their rash advance, and so his losses must have been comparatively slight. On the other hand the Thebans on the Greek right offered the bravest and most stubborn resistance to Alexander and the Macedonian left and the heaviest loss for the invaders must have been here, where the conflict was hardest and longest.

From both points, however, which have been assumed for the position of the Greek right the burial-mound of the Macedonians lies equally distant. The Macedonians must have carried their dead 10 to 15 stadia from the place where they had fallen to give them worthy burial. This would not be unthinkable in itself, if only the reason for so doing could be seen.

If the Greek right wing stood somewhere near the Kerata pass by the rocky projection of Mt. Thourion we must imagine the Thebans posted at about this distance from Chaironeia, since the front of the Greeks cannot have



THE BATTLEFIELD OF CHAIRONEIA.

From the *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1903, p. 305.

been less than 2 kilometers long. Neither Curtius nor Wilamowitz determine this place more exactly. Wilamowitz has not noticed that he has left the right wing stretching out into the plain without support. What could the Greek generals have purposed in this? and if the Macedonians fell in this part of the plain, we can think of no occasion for their transporting the dead for burial as far as the Kephisos into a marshy region through which leads no road, no path, in which no traces of an old settlement are to be found. The way from Lebadeia goes to-day and certainly at all times has gone over the low ridge of Thourion through the Kerata pass; at the point where it reaches the plain,

along the base of the rocky Thourion, leads to-day and surely has always led the great highway which stretches from Thebas past Onchestos, Haliartos, Koroneia, Lebadeia, and Chaironeia toward the north. In the whole plain there is no more suitable spot for the erection of a grave-monument than some point in the vicinity of this highway, on which (according to this theory) the battle was decided.

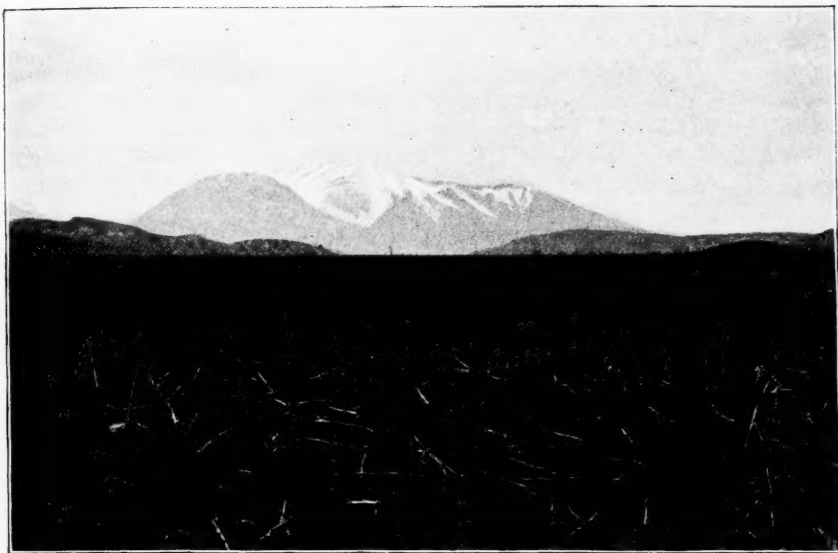
The transportation of the dead to the spot where the Macedonian burial-mound lies would be just as inexplicable, if we should think of the position of the Greek right wing as being on the Kephisos in the vicinity of the west end of Akontion. At this point, as a glance at the map (p.) will show, a number of roads meet and probably have always met, for here is the only place where the left bank of the Kephisos near Akontion offers firm ground for the construction of a bridge. At no other spot in this neighborhood is the river crossable, even in summer; elsewhere along its course the ground is swampy and the very region of the Macedonian mound is often under water.

To such a region, moreover $2\frac{1}{2}$ kilometers from the battlefield, the Macedonians would certainly have had reason for carrying their dead for burial. If the battle really took place between Chaironeia and the west end of Akontion, one could almost point out with the finger the place where the Macedonians attacked the Thebans. Just here lies the prehistoric mound; and this spot, on the battlefield itself, opposite Chaironeia and at the junction of so many ways, would have been the only one suitable for an imposing grave-monument. When, however, we find the burial-mound so far from the spot designated, the question forces itself upon us, whether possibly the battle did not take place in its immediate neighborhood.

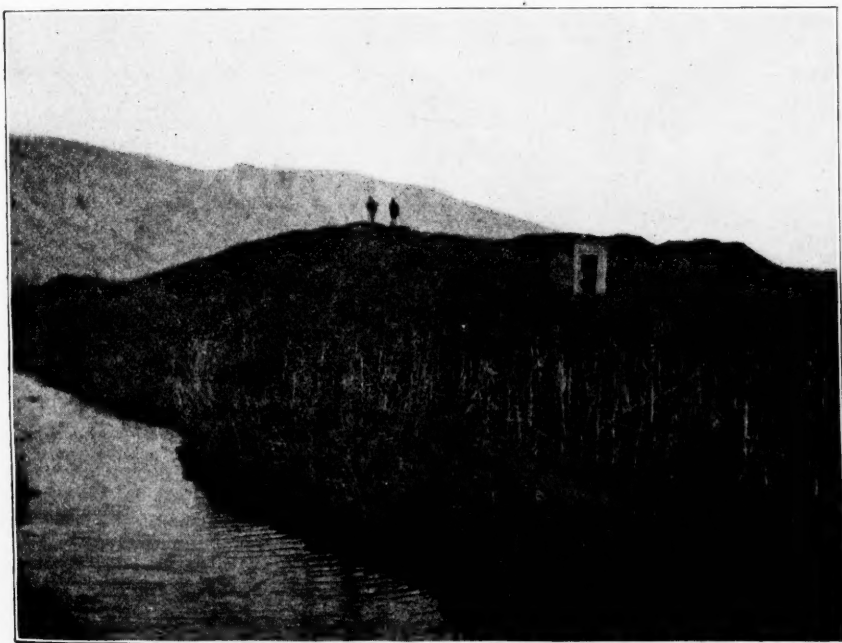
This question can be answered in the affirmative only if nothing else compels us to follow the views hitherto held as to the positions of the hostile armies. How is it now with the assumption that the battle was fought almost under the walls of Chaironeia; that the Greek right wing stood either eastward of this town, not far from the Lion monument, or to the north on the Kephisos, exactly at the west end of Akontion, and there withstood the charge of the Macedonian left wing? Leaving undecided now whether the Greek left wing, which the Athenians formed, was protected by the town of Chaironeia, we must regard as impossible the assumption that the Greeks had taken position with the front toward the north along the Chaironeian hills in the direction of the Kerata pass.

A very slight advance from the hills would have exposed their flanks, while these hills themselves were not high enough to guard them from being encircled from the rear. Curtius's strange error in thinking that the Kephisos at the distance of over a mile could protect the front of the Greeks in this position has been referred to above.

If the Greeks on their retreat from Parapotamioi had intended to make a stand in this narrow plain and here to attempt to block the progress of Philip into Bœotia, no better place could have been found than that suggested, between Chaironeia and the bridge over the Kephisos. It is natural to assume that the Greeks halted at Chaironeia, a fortified town, to assemble and to make preparations for the battle. But it may be questioned, whether on the day of the battle they actually occupied this line. The common expression "Battle of Chaironeia" seems to involve the assumption that the battle took place before the



BATTLEFIELD OF CHAIRONEIA, ACCORDING TO DR. SOTERIADES; BETWEEN MT. THOURION AND THE KEPHISOS; PARNASSOS COVERED WITH SNOW IN DISTANCE



TOMB OF THE MACEDONIANS

walls of the town, but the curious fact is that in the ancient accounts of the event we do not find Chaironeia mentioned as figuring either during or after the battle. Only in Plutarch [*Demosthenes*, ch. XIX] we read that the Greeks pitched their camp at the Herakleion (probably not far from the town), and that the bloodiest fight took place on the brook Haimon near it. "Now the Thermodon," he says (where an old oracle localized the defeat of the Greeks), "*they say* is at our home in Chaironeia, a small rivulet emptying into the Kephisos. But we *know now* none of the streams called by such a name; however, we *guess* that the one called Haimon is what was then called Thermodon * * * and we *infer* that, when the battle took place, being filled with blood and corpses the river gained this name in exchange." In *Theseus*, ch. XXVII, also, Plutarch identifies the Thermodon with the Haimon. The historian here probably refers to a local tradition that the Greeks camped at the Herakleion, but that does not prove that the battle was fought there. It is immaterial whether we identify with the Haimon the brook issuing below the theater of Chaironeia or the winter torrent which flows through the valley to the east of the citadel. The expressions, "we guess," "we infer," leave no doubt that the assumption of the battle on the Haimon brook near Chaironeia rests only on the quite hypothetical identification of this with the Thermodon and the very questionable popular etymology of Haimon as "Bloody Brook" (Aiuwv from aiua, *blood*). So Plutarch's statement has no historical worth beside the fact that the town of Chaironeia is absolutely unmentioned in the real accounts of the battle, the extended one of Diodoros and the fragmentary notices of Polyænus and Frontinus, and that in the catastrophe of the Athenians and after the defeat of the Greek army it plays no part, just at a moment when we should most naturally expect it. We may explain as an accident its not being mentioned in the accounts of the battle, but it can be no accident that it plays no part in the catastrophe of the Athenians. This point is so important that I give Dr. Soteriades' argument in full.

It is generally assumed, and one can not imagine it otherwise, that the Athenians, after they had given up their secure position by the walls of Chaironeia in their too hasty advance, withdrew a considerable distance from the town toward the northwest in the direction of the present highway. Some 500—600 m. from the village of to-day they reached the point which from the lay of the land can be exactly indicated (marked on the map by a black oblong), where they met Philip, who had enticed them thus far by his feigned retreat. Here from high land [*Polynæus*, IV, 2, 2] the Macedonians threw themselves upon them with sudden fury, and they, wearied as they were, gave way before the charge of the Macedonian phalanx. The butchery began at once, a thousand Athenians fell, 2,000 were taken prisoners, the rest scattered in wild flight. But whither? In their rear lay the town; passing close to it led the way by which the fleeing must seek to save themselves, toward the Kerata pass, the gentle slopes of the Chaironeian hills, and the side valleys. But did not the town itself with its mighty citadel first open its gates to receive at least a part of the fleeing Athenians? And—what is more important—did

the town at so slight a distance from the battle offer the Athenians absolutely no secure halting place to make less painful to them the results of the shattering charge of the Macedonians? The protection of their flank, which they gave up at the first moment, they could quickly have regained; for, if not the town in the plain by the highway, at least the akropolis with its rocky slope stretched on the left of the Athenians almost to the point where both armies met. So on this left side they could not be surrounded and it would have been sufficient for the Athenians to withdraw a little toward the side of the mountain to gain the support of the citadel and town and in this way to avoid every greater disaster. The lay of the land here was most favorable for them. Under the akropolis, somewhat west of the modern village, rises a low and very broad ridge; if the Athenians had fled thither, they would have gained at once a very advantageous position. Behind them would have lain town and citadel, and their safety for the moment would have been assured; from the high ground they could have offered successful resistance to Philip and after their first losses have brought the rest of their force into safety.

Of all this not a word is found in our sources. Even in the modern descriptions—Kromayer comes here especially into consideration—no respect has been paid to these facts, which would of themselves impress the observer on the supposed battlefield of the Athenians. Wilhelm Vischer alone [*Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, p. 591, f.] has noticed the silence of the ancient accounts in regard to the part which Chaironeia must have played in the battle; he seems therefore not to have thought it absolutely necessary to regard the town as having a close relation to the battle, as he is the first who has not drawn the conclusion from the position of the Lion monument that the annihilation of the Sacred Band took place on that spot.

Moreover, apart from these difficulties, when we consider the lay of the land, we can scarcely think that the battle between the Athenians and Philip, about which we know exactly from Polyænus, was fought under the walls of Chaironeia.

The citadel of Chaironeia occupies the entire summit of the akropolis from the valley to the east, where a part of the present village lies, to a cleft in the rock above the point to which Philip is supposed to have enticed the Athenians. We must here remark, since this circumstance seems to have been noticed by no one else, that only the easterly part of this akropolis above the present village is fortified with walls of classical times, while the western shows only cyclopean walls, with the exception of some places on the south side where in classical times either repairs have been made on the old wall or an inner line of wall has been constructed parallel to the outer one of cyclopean style, which perhaps had fallen into ruins. To this Mycenæan citadel probably refers the passage of Plutarch where he says: Just as my own native town which had sloped toward the west wind and used to receive the rays of the Sun as it rested on Parnassos they say was turned toward the east by Chairon. Kromayer, who does not mention the Mycenæan citadel of Chaironeia,* wishes to explain this passage as if the change of situation of the town pointed to its extension to the opposite side of the valley east of the akropolis . . . he believes he can recognize in some traces the line of the citadel wall. It is the region shown in the view of the restored base of the Lion and the akropolis, the steep eastern slope of the akropolis and the hill lying opposite. Kromayer's assumption cannot be correct. The low hill to the east shows absolutely no trace of old walls; everywhere where one might assume these, the

soft rock is quite intact; the slope is not terraced and nowhere are traces of old buildings to be found except below on the brook by the church, and these come from Roman times. An extension of the well-preserved southern wall of the akropolis in an easterly direction to the hill mentioned would also have been an unpardonable blunder in fortification, for the wall here would have been easy to attack from the high ground and especially down in the deep, narrow valley would have given an exceedingly weak point for defence. The south wall of the citadel plainly bent at the southeast angle on the edge of the rocky slope in a northerly direction and reached the northeast edge of the rock; there are even some traces of it preserved. Then it descended into the plain to the left bank of the brook, almost reached the highway, and then extended westward to the point where it was joined by a second wall descending steeply from a northwest corner of the citadel. This second wall is well preserved on the rocks of the akropolis and on its north slope. Since ancient graves everywhere mark exactly the limits of the town that lay in the plain north of the akropolis, we can easily picture to ourselves its size. It lay on the higher ground, which is full of ancient remains, stretching from the left bank of the brook westward to a distance of about 400 m. ($\frac{1}{4}$ mile) and having the highway as a northern boundary. It was a small town; Panopeus near by was no larger. The citadel of Chaironeia was considerably larger than the town. The Herakleion must have lain outside the wall of the brook, which probably is the Haimon of Plutarch.

Now if the Athenians had taken position close to the town, they must have had in their hands the rectangular recess formed between it and the Mycenæan citadel. Now then must one picture to oneself the course of events at the first encounter? Suppose Philip had in his possession the small projection of the citadel hill which runs out to the north as far as the highway some 1,000 paces distant; that is the point to which the Athenians advanced (supposedly), when they started off to attack him. Now if Philip and his troops were drawn up there before the battle began, he had no need to draw back, to entice the Athenians farther into the plain, for so he would have given up unnecessarily his strong position; the Athenians would then have gotten possession of this and attacked the Macedonians from an elevated place. If he stood in front of this rocky spur, and thus quite near the Athenian battle-line, the distance between the two armies was very slight and the consequences of the precipitate attack of the Athenians could not have taken place, aside from the fact that in any event the Athenians had a secure protection for their extreme left flank in the steep slopes under the cyclopean citadel and the heights below it.

So many considerations against the correctness of the assumption that the Athenians made their attack on Philip from under the walls of the town must lead us to think that the battle was not fought in its immediate neighborhood. If we locate the battle-field somewhat to the east, on a line between the western rocky spur of Thourion, past which flows the brook Molos, and the grave-mound of the Macedonians, all conditions of a good protection for both wings of the Greek army are fulfilled, while all difficulties in reference to the events on the left wing vanish. Here alone can it be easily explained how Philip enticed the Athenians into the plain, where actually in the charge, in which their ranks were somewhat broken, they lost every protection, while Philip, who retired step by step and held his phalanx close together, by a slight movement to the right could quickly gain the elevated ground in the



KAPRAINA (CHAIRONEIA) AND PARNASSOS



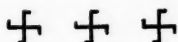
WORK AT A DEPTH OF SEVEN METERS IN THE CENTER OF THE TOMB OF THE MACEDONIANS, WHERE THE ASHES, CINDERS, ARMS, ETC., WERE FOUND

gentle slopes of the hills east of the Lion monument. Since in the meantime the right wing of the Greeks was torn to pieces and the Macedonians poured over the plain, the Athenians could seek refuge only toward the rear, toward Lebadeia. Forced into the angle of the hills here all had to surrender who could not reach the pass in time. Also the fugitives of the Greek center and right wing, as far as they were not caught in the plain by the Macedonian cavalry, could seek refuge by the path near Bramagas or somewhat farther to the southeast, where the mountain passes over into gentler slopes, upon Thourion itself or beyond in the direction of Lebadeia. The shortest line between the steep wall of Thourion and the grave-mound of the Macedonians is only 1,120 m. (7-10 of a mile), but the Kephisos is still some 100 m. distant from the grave-mound, and between the Kerata pass, which the Greeks must naturally have held open for themselves by a skillful arrangement of their troops, and the Kephisos, whose bed may have been farther from the mound than it is to-day, the Greeks might have extended their line of battle to 2,000 m. (1¼ miles). They needed no more space for drawing up their troops, and on the hypothesis of this arrangement the course of the battle can be quite sufficiently explained according to the short though clear accounts of Diodoros, Polyænus, and Frontinus. Our sources are not mediocre; they had no need to say more than they tell us, and the original accounts, which Diodoros and Polyænus copied, were doubtless correct. The events were as simple as possible . . . and were calculated with superior strategic skill beforehand by the Macedonians. While Philip manœuvred against the Athenians and weakened their strength by tactical movements in order so much the more easily to overpower them with his stouter and better trained soldiers, he gave time to his son Alexander to conquer the brave Thebans with his left wing, where the best Macedonian force was concentrated. That was all, and Diodoros has plainly followed his source faithfully in his narrative: 'Since Alexander wished to show his father his bravery and to let no one outdo him, and since at the same time many brave were with him, he first broke through the enemy's battle-line, overthrew many opponents, and conquered whatever stood over against him. As now the divisions near him did the same, the whole line of battle was gradually rolled back, many dead were heaped up, and so Alexander's wing first put the enemy to flight.'

The Macedonian army intoxicated with victory, whose work on this great day outshone the most famous deeds of the Greeks, according to old national custom erected on the field of battle no perishable trophy; they only instituted a splendid festival at the burial of their dead and erected for them an imperishable monument (on the spot where they had fallen). Several days later the proud victor granted also to the unfortunate vanquished the consolation of hiding their dead in the earth. For the Athenian dead he cared himself in a magnanimous manner, for political reasons; where the other Greeks buried those who belonged to them we do not know; only the Thebans brought the dead of their Sacred Band, whose name was extinguished on that day, to that spot for burial where the colossal Lion erected over their grave should forever proclaim their heroic deed: near the town, beside the highway on which people have passed for centuries and will pass forever.

Since the above was written I have received from Dr. Soteriades a copy of *La Reforme* of Smyrna, dated March 9, 1904, with the following statement in regard to the lion: "The work of restoring the lion of Chaironeia continues; the new base has been completed. Up to

this time the Greek Archæological Society has spent 42,000 drachmas (\$5,250); the cost of the restoration will amount to some 100,000 drachmas. All the fragments of the lion fit together wonderfully. A plaster cast has been placed on the base. The work is majestic; the head is wonderfully preserved, while only some small portions of the back and belly are lacking. These will be replaced in the same marble: the ancient quarry is situated quite near Lebadeia. The lion rests on his front paws, while sitting on his haunches; its gaze is turned slightly toward the tomb of the Macedonians. Its height measured from the base to the forehead is 5 m. (16 ft.); from this one can imagine the size of the tomb. Naturally the work is not of a fine art, yet the image is expressive and lifelike."



PENDING LEGISLATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANTIQUITIES OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

BY REV. HENRY MASON BAUM, D. C. L.

IN THE last issue (April) of RECORDS OF THE PAST I gave an account of the efforts to secure national legislation for the protection of antiquities on the Public Domain. This article brought the matter down to the introduction of the Bill by Mr. Rodenberg, and its submission to the Educational Institutions, Museums, Archæological and Historical Societies of the United States for approval and any suggestions they might offer in order to make it more effective. The article closed with many of the replies from different parts of the country.

The Committee on Public Lands of the House of Representatives granted a hearing on the Bill and I presented the matter, somewhat at length, to the Committee. The 4 Bills introduced in the House were then referred to a sub-committee consisting of the Hon. John F. Lacey, Chairman; Hon. John Lind, and the Hon. George Shiras, 3d. I asked Senator Lodge to introduce the Bill in the Senate, which he did on April 20. It was referred to the Senate Committee on Public Lands, which in turn referred it and other pending Bills on the same subject to a sub-committee consisting of Senator Fulton, Chairman; and Senators Newlands and Bard. April 22 this Committee gave a hearing on this and the other Bills, at which were present Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, and Secretary of the Archæological Institute of America; Hon. William A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Mgr. Dennis J. O'Connell, Rector of the Catholic University of America; Dr. Charles W. Needham, President of the Columbian University; Prof. Mitchell Carroll, of the Columbian University, Associate Secretary of the Archæological Institute of America, Mr. Fred. B. Wright, Secretary of *Records of the Past Exploration Society*, and myself. Prof. William Henry Holmes, Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology, was invited to be present but declined to come.

The Committee gave the gentlemen present a very courteous hearing, a printed report of which can be obtained upon application to any of the United States Senators.

The Committee considered not only the Lodge-Rodenberg Bill but the one introduced by Senator Cullom in the Senate and known as the "Langley Bill," and 2 introduced in the House by Major Lacey, the Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands H. R. and by Mr. Rodey, the Delegate from New Mexico. Addresses were made by all present and the Committee finally selected the Lodge-Rodenberg Bill, and with a few verbal amendments it was reported to the full Committee, and on the 25 was reported to the Senate. The following from the *Congressional Record* embraces Senator Fulton's presentation of the Bill to the Senate.

PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC RUINS, ETC.

Mr. FULTON. I am directed by the Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the Bill (S. 5603) for the preservation of historic and prehistoric ruins, monuments, archaeological objects, and other antiquities, and to prevent their counterfeiting, to report favorably with amendments, and I submit a report thereon. I ask for the immediate consideration of the Bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Bill will be read.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Bill.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, no one knows what the Bill is, owing to the confusion in the Chamber. From what Committee did it come? .

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. From the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. TELLER. It was reported this morning, I understand.

Mr. FULTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TELLER. I wish to object to its consideration, and to have it printed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection is made, and the Bill goes to the Calendar.

Mr. FULTON. I should like to explain in just a few words what the character of the bill is, and then I think the Senator from Colorado will not object to it.

Mr. TELLER. I can tell very much better what it is when I read it.

Mr. FULTON. I wish to make the explanation anyway.

Mr. TELLER. I know that some of these ruins are not on public land, and the Government has no control of those.

Mr. FULTON. No; and the Bill does not pretend to give Government control over them. It could not if it desired.

Mr. TELLER. There is no indication that the attempt will not be made.

Mr. FULTON. We are not trying to do it.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill has gone to the Calendar under the objection.

Mr. FULTON. The bill was introduced by the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Lodge). It was considered by the Committee on Public Lands and referred to a sub-committee consisting of the Senator from Nevada (Mr. Newlands), the Senator from California (Mr. Bard), and myself. All it proposes to do is to provide for the preservation of the prehistoric ruins and monuments found principally in the southwestern part of the United States.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to ask the Senator from Oregon if it

does not suggest more reservations, and if pretty much everything in our country is not to be reserved?

Mr. FULTON. It makes no reservations except such portions as contain these ruins.

Mr. TELLER. The Bill has gone to the Calendar, has it not?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Bill has gone to the Calendar.

Mr. FULTON. It has gone to the Calendar, I understand, but I promised to make an explanation and, with the permission of the Chair, I should like to make it.

There are a great many people interested in this measure all over the country. All the scientific societies have taken an interest in it. They have been trying for years to secure legislation of this character. It seems to me very fitting and proper that some such legislation should be had.

I feel that I have done my duty when I have reported the Bill and tried to secure its immediate consideration. I understand that going to the Calendar kills it for the present session and makes it impossible for it to become a law at this time.

The nature of the Bill was made clear to Senator Teller later in the day by myself and he generously agreed to ask for unanimous consent the following day for its immediate consideration. He suggested several amendments, which I accepted in behalf of the gentlemen who were before the Senate Committee. He did not have the opportunity to present the matter to the Senate on the following day, but Wednesday morning he obtained unanimous consent and presented the Bill with his amendments. The following extract from the *Congressional Record* gives the final action on the Bill in the Senate:

PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC RUINS, ETC.

Mr. TELLER. Day before yesterday I objected to the passage of a Bill in which the scientists of this country are greatly interested. There were some objections that I had to the Bill. After consulting with them I prepared yesterday, with their approval, an amendment which I ask to substitute for the Bill, and that the Bill be put on its passage.

Mr. BLACKBURN. What is the Bill?

Mr. TELLER. It is a Bill for the preservation of the antiquities in the West. I desire to call up the Bill this morning, for there has been a great deal of interest taken in it by the scientific people of the country, and inasmuch as I objected to the Bill I feel that I ought to do so. I offer an amendment which is agreeable to the parties interested in securing a measure for this purpose.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Colorado asks for the present consideration of the Bill (S. 5603) for the preservation of historic and prehistoric ruins, monuments, archaeological objects, and other antiquities, and to prevent their counterfeiting. The Bill has been read in the Senate.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the Bill.

Mr. TELLER. I move an amendment as a substitute to the Bill reported by the Committee on Public Lands. It is substantially the same measure, but with some things left out of the bill as reported.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Colorado will be read.

The Secretary. Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

58TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION.

S. 5603.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

APRIL 26, 1904.

Ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT.

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Teller to the Bill (S. 5603) for the preservation of historic and prehistoric ruins, monuments, archæological objects, and other antiquities, and to prevent their counterfeiting, viz: Insert the following:

That for the purpose of preserving and protecting from despoliation the historic and prehistoric ruins, monuments, archæological objects, and other antiquities, and the work of the American aborigines on the public lands of the United States, all said historic and prehistoric ruins, monuments, archæological objects, and other antiquities are hereby placed in the care and custody of the Secretary of the Interior, with authority to grant permits to persons whom he may deem properly qualified to examine, excavate, and collect antiquities in the same: *Provided, however,* That the work of such persons to whom permits may be granted by the Secretary of the Interior is undertaken for the benefit of some incorporated public museum, university, college, scientific society, or educational institution, either foreign or domestic, for the purpose of increasing and advancing the knowledge of historical archæological, anthropological, or ethnological science.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior may make temporary withdrawals of the land on which such prehistoric ruins, monuments, archæological objects, and other antiquities are located, including only the land necessary for such preservation and not exceeding in one place one section of land. The Secretary of the Interior may detail custodians of such ruins or groups of ruins, with the view to their protection and preservation; and it shall be the duty of such custodians to prohibit and prevent unauthorized and unlawful excavations thereof, or the removing therefrom of antiquities.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to grant to any State or Territorial museum or university, having connected therewith a public museum, permits to excavate and explore any ruin or site located within its Territorial limits on the public lands, upon application for such permit being indorsed by the governor of the State or Territory wherein the ruins are situated.

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to grant permits for the purposes set forth in the foregoing sections to foreign national museums, universities, or scientific societies engaged in advancing the knowledge of historical, archæological, anthropological, or ethnological science under such regulations as he may deem advisable, and to make such division of the antiquities recovered as in his judgment seems equitable, and the antiquities retained in this country shall be deposited in the United States National Museum or in some public museum in the State or Territory within which explorations are made.

SEC. 5. That permits granted to any institution or society shall state the site or locality in which excavations or investigations are to be conducted, and shall require that the work begin within a stated time, and that the work

shall be continuous until such excavations have been satisfactorily completed, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior; and that any failure to comply with such requirements shall be deemed a forfeiture of the permit, and in case of such forfeiture all antiquities gathered from such ruin or site shall revert to the United States National Museum or to such State or Territorial institution as the Secretary of the Interior shall designate.

SEC. 6. That of all excavations and explorations made under a permit granted by the Secretary of the Interior a complete photographic record shall be made showing the progress of the said excavations, and of all objects of archaeological or historical value found therein, and duplicate photographs thereof, together with a full report of the excavations, shall be deposited in the United States National Museum.

SEC. 7. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to make and publish from time to time such rules and regulations as he shall deem expedient and necessary for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 8. That any person who shall excavate, disturb, willfully destroy, alter, deface, mutilate, or injure, without authority from the Secretary of the Interior as aforesaid, any prehistoric aboriginal structure or grave on the public lands of the United States, or who knowingly and intentionally conducts, enters into, aids, abets, or participates in any manner whatever in any excavations or gatherings of archaeological objects or the destruction or injury to any grave or prehistoric structure on the public lands of the United States, or shall violate any of the provisions of this Act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The Bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The Bill was immediately engrossed and sent over to the House of Representatives. Preparations were made to ask unanimous consent for its passage, as Congress was to adjourn the next day. The members of the Sub-committee of the House agreed to do all they could to secure unanimous consent, but it was found that Mr. Rathbun, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and Mr. J. D. McGuire, who drew up the "Langley Bill," were present trying to get some member of the House to object to its immediate consideration. They went first to the Hon. Robert R. Hitt, one of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, but he absolutely refused to interpose any objection to the passage of the Bill. Other members were seen and finally Mr. Alexander, the member from Buffalo, agreed to make objection. Several members of the House, as well as myself, explained to Mr. Alexander the animus of the Smithsonian Institution and he also refused to interpose any objection. It was then near the close of the night session. The following morning these gentlemen were again present and they succeeded in getting Mr. Adams, the member from Philadelphia, to object, but as it was near the hour of adjournment we decided to abandon the attempt to have the Bill passed by unanimous consent and it will

therefore come up on the reassembling of Congress next December. Several members of the House said that over 90 per cent of the members were ready to pass the Bill if unanimous consent could be secured. Of course, the Bill will be passed in regular order in December.

The action of the Smithsonian Institution was severely condemned by members of Congress and many prominent citizens. *The Smithsonian Institution will be responsible for all injury done to antiquities on the Public Domain until the final passage of the Bill.*

During the interim the Officials of the Interior Department have promised to do all they can to prevent excavations and the destruction of the ruins. They have long been desirous of the enactment of a National law to aid them in saving what is left of our prehistoric remains, and have done all in their power to help secure such legislation. The aid given by the Hon. William A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, will be gratefully remembered by thousands of the American people.

It is with a great deal of regret that I state why the Smithsonian Institution, by its official representative, objected to the immediate passage of the Bill, but my duty to the public requires me to do so. It seems that the Smithsonian people employed, last year, Mr. J. D. McGuire to draft a bill dealing with antiquities on the Public Domain. We have the statement of Prof. William Henry Holmes, Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology, made in a meeting of the Anthropological Society of Washington, that Mr. McGuire was employed by the Smithsonian Institution to draft this bill. It remains to be seen whether the Institution had the right to use its funds for such a purpose. The Bill was introduced on February 5 by Senator Cullom, one of the Regents, by request. This Bill only dealt with such antiquities as might be found on reservations which the President would be authorized to create. It is well known to all who are acquainted with the antiquities of the Southwest that 19-20 of the ruins are isolated and that not more than half a dozen localities should be made National Parks, and Congress is very adverse to the creation of National Parks. But the "Langley Bill," as it is called, took from the Secretary of the Interior the right to grant permits to museums and other institutions to excavate in this country without the consent of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. This was so unjust that it was at once condemned. Also the great institutions of this country, that have been foremost in the work of exploration and whose field workers are among the most competent in the world, would have to submit to an examination by the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, which of course no self-respecting archaeologist sent out by a great University or Museum, would be willing to do. The Bill contained many other obnoxious provisions. Its only friends were its authors.

In the Senate hearing, while considering the section dealing with permits and the necessity for having ruins scientifically excavated, I stated:—[See Senate Report].

In regard to these two suggestions I wish to say that there is hardly an

institution in this country that has not been guilty of the charge of going to the Southwest and excavating the most promising part of a ruin and taking what they wanted to fill up their museums and then leaving it and going to another.

SENATOR BARD. The Smithsonian Institution itself has been doing that?

REV. DR. BAUM. The Smithsonian has done that. It is not the least among the guilty parties.

It is not because they have not competent men to excavate. All their men have been able to conduct scientific explorations. But the great desire to go into a ruin and get the best there has led to an utter neglect of the scientific excavation of our ruins, which would not be tolerated for one moment, as Prof. Kelsey knows, in Italy or Greece.

So in drawing up this Bill I had in mind hundreds of ruins that I saw in the Southwest that had been rendered useless by desultory excavations for scientific investigation, and I thought that the Smithsonian and all the other institutions when they began work ought to be made to keep at it until there could be placed in some museum the continuity of life that was lived there. There is nothing unfair in that. If we want to have our antiquities preserved for scientific exploration, then, as the writer of one of these letters says, let us hold them strictly to scientific work.

Now, an eminent archæologist made the following statement in a letter to me:—"Langley's Bill is the most outrageous that could be presented. He might just as well have said, no explorations except by the Smithsonian, for that is what the Bill means." This statement was borne out by the action of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian at the close of the session in his efforts to obstruct the passage of the Bill. If everything could not be made subservient to it, i. e., the Smithsonian Institution, even the Interior Department itself, they would prefer to turn our antiquities over to the hand of the despoiler.

On Wednesday, April 28, I addressed the following letter to Mr. Rathbun, to which no reply has been received.

RECORDS OF THE PAST EXPLORATION SOCIETY.

INCORPORATED APRIL 1, 1901, UNDER THE UNITED STATES STATUTES FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. REV. HENRY MASON BAUM, D. C. L., PRESIDENT.

FREDERICK B. WRIGHT, SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

Offices, 215 Third Street S. E., Washington, D. C.

April 26, 1904.

MR. RICHARD RATHBUN,

Ass't. Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

SIR:—I learned that you were at the Capitol yesterday in company with Mr. J. D. McGuire for the purpose of interposing objections to the passage of the Bill for the protection of antiquities on the Public Domain. You may not be aware that this Bill has been submitted to the leading Universities, Colleges, Public Museums, Archæological and Historical Societies in the United States, and has been endorsed by them all so far as heard from. This Bill also voices the wishes of the people of the United States, who have been trying for several years to secure National Legislation for the protection of our antiquities. The Bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Rodenburg on March 2 of the present year and in the Senate on the 20 inst., by Senator Lodge. Hearings have been given by the Committee on Public Lands of the

House of Representatives and also of the Senate. A hearing was given before the Sub-committee of the Committee on Public Lands of the Senate on Friday the 22 inst., at which were present Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, representing the Archæological Institute of America, the largest society in this country dealing with the matter of antiquities; the Hon. William A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Mgr. O'Connell, Rector of the Catholic University of America; President Needham, of the Columbian University; Prof. Carroll, of the Columbian University; Mr. Wright, the Secretary of this Society, and myself. Prof. Holmes, the Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology was invited to be present but declined. The object was to secure immediate legislation in some form to stop the wanton despoliation of our priceless antiquities. The Senate Committee adopted the Lodge Bill with some few amendments as the one, of the several Bills introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate, meeting the present necessities of the case. The Bill as amended was reported by the Senate Committee on Public Lands to the Senate, and was unanimously adopted with a few minor amendments by Senator Teller.

On the same day the hearing was given by the Senate Committee, several persons who appeared before that Committee also appeared before the Sub-committee on Public Lands of the House of Representatives, and after an extended hearing by that Committee the Rodenburg Bill was adopted with a few verbal changes, which the Senate Committee accepted.

The Smithsonian Institution has had every opportunity to be heard on the Bills dealing with this matter. After the respective Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives have generously offered to grant the protection asked for by the Educational and Scientific Institutions of this country, you appear as a lobbyist to delay the passage of the Bill passed by the Senate. The objections offered yesterday by yourself are trivial in the extreme. A notable example of your acquaintance with the ruins of the Southwest is found in your statement that a section of land (640 acres) will not in all cases protect some of the ruins in the Southwest. If you were at all acquainted with the extent of these ruins you would know that 20 acres would much more than cover any one ruin. I need not speak of the other objections, which are on a par with this one. As the matter stands to-day, the Smithsonian Institution by you, as its Assistant Secretary, is opposing a Bill for the protection of our priceless antiquities. You have gone to several members of the House of Representatives and asked them to oppose unanimous consideration of the Bill. The Hon. Robert R. Hitt, a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution, I learned from members of the House of Representatives, has refused to accede to your wishes, as I believe every other member of the House will do on knowing the motives that actuate your opposition to the Bill. I am assured by a member of the Public Lands Committee of the House of Representatives that at least 90 per cent. of the members of the House of Representatives would vote for the passage of this Bill if the opportunity was given them to do so.

I write therefore, to ask if you are willing to put yourself before the country in this unenviable light. Some one in the Smithsonian Institution is responsible for having paid, out of its funds, this Mr. McGuire for drawing up a bill, which was at once condemned by everyone interested in this great movement, except the Smithsonian Institution. Whether the officials of the Smithsonian Institution have the right to use its funds for such a purpose remains for future investigation.

Very respectfully,
HENRY MASON BAUM.

THE STONE LIONS OF COCHITI

BY HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE, LL. D.

THE "Stone Lions of Cochiti" have long been recognized as the most important specimen of aboriginal sculpture in the United States, and as such have naturally attracted the attention both of tourists and of scientists seriously interested in the archæology and ethnology of America.

I had long desired to visit these monuments of ancient art, and the ruins of the city of which they were at once the ornaments and the sacred guardians, before an opportunity was presented; but at length good fortune permitted me to attend the annual festival of the Pueblo of Cochiti, the nearest existing Indian town, and I arranged to stay a week if necessary in order to pay my respects to the Lions, which are less than 12 miles away.

So, as soon as the great ceremonial dance was over, I endeavored to engage the services of a bright, active and intelligent Pueblo Indian, whom I knew well, to guide me through the trip. But here an unexpected obstacle arose. The government of a Pueblo town is the best example in the world of the communal system. The governor has the power to call on every man and woman to aid in any work for the public weal, and on this occasion he had ordered a levy *en masse* of the adult males of the town, to work on the main acequia for 2 days, in order to repair some breaches which were causing the loss of all the water needed for irrigation. The Fiscal had just given the required notice in a loud voice from the house tops, and to a mandate of this kind there was no answer but obedience. So my Indian friend sorrowfully told me that it was impossible for him to leave; he did not dare to be absent when the roll should be called. This seemed an end to the proposed expedition; but fortunately the Governor of the Pueblo was a man whom I had known in a friendly way for years; so I boldly approached and stated the case. I told him of the long distance we had come simply to visit the ruins, and that without a guide we must return with the work undone. He had plenty of men for the acequia; could he not spare one? "For how long?" said he. "Two or three days," I answered. "No," that was impossible; but if I would solemnly promise that he should be back the next evening, he would excuse him for the one day.

There being no alternative, the assurance was given; and soon after the desired guide was surprised by receiving formal official notification that he was free to go.

This important preliminary being settled, we started next morning, mounted on good horses, on our expedition. The road, from beginning to end, is a succession of ascents and descents, sometimes rocky and precipitous, sometimes gradual and grass clad. As one follows the broken and often rugged and dangerous trail, the horizon on the west is bounded by a series of peaks, each of which has its expressive Indian name—too sacred for mention to the Mexican or the Gringo,

for whom the Spanish names are supposed to be good enough. By favor they were told to me and I inscribe them here, as at least a pleasant exercise in pronunciation.

They are in their order from the South: Hah-chah-mone-ye-tah, La-a-ke-ah, How-wy-yah-He-che-an-yeet-sah.

To the north of the broad Canada de Cochiti deep canyons run from the mountains on the west to the Rio Grande, which is here itself bordered by massive rocky walls, almost perpendicular and of great height, forming what the Spaniards call the Caja del Rio, an expression anglicized into the equally expressive "Box Canyon." These gorges, which are sometimes quite narrow and at others widen into green valleys, are named from old residents or natural objects, and coming from the South are known as the Canyons de Jose Sanchez, del Medio, del Capulin, de las Vacas and de los Alamos; the next valley above being more extensive and called the Canyon del Rio de los Frijoles. On our hot summer trip we found the Canyon del Capulin to be appropriately named, as it was filled with trees of the Capulin or Bird Cherry, covered fortunately for us with the ripe berries, whose very astringency made them most refreshing, and which, with the smaller or more aromatic fruit of the Lemita, furnished the most grateful food of the journey.

Between these canyons are high, broken *mesas*, irregular in outline and rough in surface, and on the summit of one of these, called the Potrero de las Vacas, midway between the steep sides that lead down hundreds of feet to the depths below, are the ruins of the Pueblo Quemado, the Burnt Pueblo, which, to distinguish it from other Pueblos similarly destroyed and consequently similarly named, is sometimes called the Pueblo del Potrero de las Vacas.

It has still another Indian name, which might be adopted but for its length, as its meaning is quite descriptive and certainly poetical: "The ruined Pueblo to the north, where the Mountain Lions are resting."

Long before we reach the place, we see evidences of ancient habitation in the ruins of isolated houses, or little groups of dwellings, all once built of stone; and the only remains of which now are the lines of fallen walls and a few broken pieces of antique pottery.

In the soft limestone which constitutes one stratum of the cliffs, are myriads of nests of birds, excavated in the rock, so large and deep and regular in form, that they seem like the work of human beings, and are apt to deceive the enthusiastic tourist from the East, into the belief that they are veritable cliff dwellings of which he has read so much, and regarding the exact appearance of which his ideas are a little indistinct.

As we approach nearer to the once populous city, we see evidences of the great numbers of its inhabitants, and of the length of time during which it must have been occupied; for in the solid rock which in many places constitutes the surface of the ground, are worn deeply grooved paths, by the constant passing of the people. When we re-



STONE LIONS OF COCHITI

member that they were made by bare feet, or soft moccasins; that no iron shoe of horse, or hard soled boot of the white man had taken part in their formation, we can imagine what multitudes of feet must have trodden those rugged paths, in order to wear into the hard and solid stone, grooves fully 6 in. deep. They are not "footprints on the sands of time," but in the rocks of eternity, and they tell more vividly and more lastingly of the long occupation and vast numbers of the people of those ancient ruins than could the most enduring monument.

The country in the vicinity abounds in the ruins of ancient towns,

more or less extensive, from the cave dwellings opposite San Ildefonso to the present Pueblo of Cochiti; one of the most interesting, called the Pueblo Colorado, being but a short distance below, between the Canyon del Capulin and the Canada de las Vacas; but whether these were contemporaneous, or were successive places of residence, is a point not easy to determine. The frequent changes made in the location of many Pueblo towns, would make the latter idea probable; yet there are reasons to suppose that the people were sufficiently numerous at one time to require several cities for their accommodation. One theory is that this particular Pueblo was the central point in government and religion—the capital we might say—of a considerable number of neighboring towns, and that this accounts for the large number of *estufas* which existed here, both within and without the walls.

However this may be, the present ruins are sufficient to give evidence of a large and industrious population. The general plan was that usual in all Pueblo towns of that day; the houses being arranged in long lines, three stories in height, and built somewhat irregularly around an open square or plaza. On the west side, the line of houses was nearly straight, and about 525 ft. in length. On the south this line was more irregular, on account of the "lay of the land," extending with a series of jogs, towards the north, the total distance from east to west being nearly 400 ft. From the southeast corner a straight line of buildings extended northerly 120 ft. and from the northwest corner a line ran easterly 180 ft., leaving an open entrance into the central square 150 ft. in width, at the northeast. The buildings on all sides were continuous, with no break of any kind for an entrance; so that in case of attack the only point to be defended was this one northeastern opening. It will be remembered that in all Pueblo towns of that period, the houses were built in terrace form, facing inwards, so that the outside wall, which usually had but few if any openings for light, and those very small in size, was three stories in height, thus presenting a perpendicular line of defense, too strong to be broken through, too high to scale, and in those days, before artillery was known, perfectly impregnable against the attacks by the spears, the arrows or the clubs of a hostile force, no matter how large or powerful.

This particular Pueblo was built of stone, hewn into blocks about the size of a large adobe, 2 ft. in length, 8 in. wide, and 4 in. thick; and all so uniform as to be used in building with the regularity of bricks. The walls, many of which are still standing to the height of 5 or 6 ft., are but the width of one stone—8 in.—in thickness; but the rooms being small, so that 4 lines of walls stand close together, and the whole structure being in one mass, this was amply sufficient to give the necessary strength. The stones are well laid, any little irregularities being filled with small pieces, driven in; and the whole united with a clayey mortar, most of which has disappeared. The stones are so flat and regular, however, that the walls would stand ordinary wear and tear without any mortar whatever. The rooms are generally 12 ft. in length by 7 or 8 in width, between the walls; the total breadth of the

line of houses, consisting of 3 rooms across, being, with its 4 walls, not far from 25 ft.

In the ruins of this Pueblo every room can be distinctly traced; in many the walls are still quite high, and while the falling of the upper stories has caused them to be somewhat filled with debris, still the position of the fireplaces can generally be seen, and a little excavation brings us to the original earthen floor.

Everything around points to the destruction of the Pueblo by fire. Half burned pieces of wood show how the wooden *vigas* were consumed and the upper stories destroyed. Charred corn tells of the stores of provisions that were lost in the rapid conflagration, while the quantities of broken pottery of all descriptions, show how well the houses were supplied with domestic articles both for use and ornament, before the fall of walls and timbers crushed them into fragments. This pottery is of all the varieties usually found in the old Pueblo ruins, corrugated both in straight and waved lines, variously indented, and painted in red, white and black, with pigments and glazing, which have preserved the brilliancy of the original tints and shades, wonderfully, through the ages. All around are broken fragments of the precious stones prized by the old inhabitants, both for use as arrow heads and for ornamental purposes, all known now under the one general name of *Pedernal*, but including an infinite variety of the flint, the agate, onyx, chalcedony, carnelian and the sardine stone. *Metates*, broken and entire, with the *mano* or hand stone that accompanies them, show that the same system of grinding still in vogue in Pueblo towns, and which was general in oriental lands in the early days when we read that "two women shall be grinding at the mill, the one shall be taken and the other left," existed among the industrious inhabitants of these once populous towns; while stone axes and hammers, *macanas* and arrow heads, prove that both in peace and war, at home and in the chase, they used the same implements as their descendants.

Within the plaza around which the town was built were 4 *estufas*, all perfectly recognizable from their circular depressions and walls, today. The *estufa* seems to be universal in every Pueblo, ancient and modern. Whatever else may change, this idea of a circular, underground council chamber for official meetings, ceremonials and religious rites, seems to be an inherent and necessary part of the Pueblo character and system. Perhaps they had a more general use, as many archaeologists believe that they were the dwelling places of the men, while the small roomed houses were the homes of the women of the Pueblos prior to the Spanish conquest. And it will be remembered that the historian of Coronado's expedition, Castaneda, in the earliest authentic description which we have of the towns and the customs of this interesting people, speaks of this matter in a way which will bear quotation here as illustrating the point in question. He says: "The houses belong to the women, and the *estufas* to the men." "The young men live in the *estufas*, which are underground in the plazas of the villages. The women are forbidden to sleep in them, or even to enter, except to bring food to their husbands and sons."

Three of the *estufas* at this Pueblo Quemado are uniform in size, being 30 ft. in diameter, and are placed in the 3 enclosed corners of the plaza, omitting the corner where the open entrance is. Exactly in the center is a still larger *estufa* 40 ft. in diameter. Outside the walls are the ruins of several others, and the large number of them, in the aggregate, is one reason for the belief that this Pueblo was the center of a system of towns, the capital, in fact, where special ceremonials were performed, and mystic rites celebrated, and to which "the tribes went up," as in an earlier day to Jerusalem, "for to worship."

Certain it is that most modern Pueblos have but 2 *estufas*, called after the Turquoise and the Gourd, the *estufa* of "Chalchiguite" and of "Calabastas," but the changed circumstances at the time of the Spanish occupation may have modified the customs of the people, so that a dozen *estufas* in an ancient Pueblo may represent no greater population than the ordinary number in our own days.

But one other matter calls for separate mention or tells anything special of the life of the people who once filled this plaza and sat on its house tops and terraces in the cool of a New Mexican summer evening. Just beyond the broad entrance to the town is a large artificial pond, carefully constructed with banks of stone and earth, and capable of containing a supply sufficient for a long period of drought or siege. The walls of this are now broken and worn down, but enough remains to show how extensive was the provision of water; and a very small amount of labor would restore it to its former usefulness.

The extent of the ruins of this Pueblo, and the existence of the Sacred Stone Lions as a part of them, have given to this particular spot an interest to the Pueblo Indian himself far beyond that of the other deserted cities which are scattered in the vicinity, and have made it the center of considerable legendary lore. All the localities around are the scenes of events commemorated in mythical story. Directly across the arroyo to the north, in the mountain side, with a ribbon of green grass in front, which tells of the flowing water, is a deep cave, known to the Mexicans as the *Cueva Vieja*, and to the Indians as "c'ar-te-tyam," which is the center of a long and touching legend of an aged man and his beautiful daughter who once dwelt there; the 3 window-like holes near the roof of the cave, and its natural chimney, still dark with smoke, each having its appropriate part in the story. We cannot stop to tell all the alternations of love and hatred, of joy and sorrow, in the Indian tale, but pass on to the legend of the Pueblo Quemado itself, which throws the date of its days of glory far back into the dim past, and is certainly of sufficient interest to warrant its perpetuation. And so I tell the tale as it was told to me, sitting under a thickly leaved pinon tree at a corner of the ruined walls of the old Pueblo, on that summer afternoon.

Long years ago, not only centuries before any white man had set foot in the land, but far back of that, before the coming of the first Pueblo Indian and the dawn of the Montezuman civilization, a people lived here, numerous and powerful. This was in the early days of the world, when all was new.

Men had not yet learned the use of meal or flour nor even knew of corn or wheat as articles of food. In place of modern grain, they lived on the seeds of the *Anil del Campo*, the largest of the native sunflowers. The plains and valleys were covered in the summer with the yellow blossoms, which ever turned with respect and admiration toward the great central orb, the Lord of the Heavens, and seemed like literal fields of cloth of gold. When the seed was ripe, the stalks were cut as fields of wheat are mown to-day, and carried on great blankets to the houses, where they remained until entirely dry, and then the flowers were winnowed in the open air, the winds of heaven blowing away the chaff, and the pure seed, ground up, was used as meal.

The people, as the years rolled by, built strong and mighty cities. All were of stone, carefully hewn, and laid together, and each city had its *estufas* for the councils and ceremonies of the people. They were a nation skilled in many things, and lived in peace and happiness, under the wise government of the elders of the people for many years. This great city was the largest of their towns, and full of the gathered trophies of the chase, of rare skins and great antlers, and of their accumulated wealth in ornamented pottery and precious stones.

Suddenly one night rang out the cry of fire. Though still early in the evening, all were serenely sleeping, feeling no fear of harm. The flames had gathered force before they were discovered, and the lack of water made it impossible to withstand or restrain them. The air was filled with the cries of those who sought to alarm the slumbering inmates, and by the shrieks of those who awoke only to find escape no longer possible. The roofs, heavy with earth, fell with a crash as the *vigas* which supported them gave way, and multitudes of children were buried in the ruins. "*Muchos se quemaron aquí, niños.*" said the narrator, sorrowfully, as he pointed to the fallen ruins. Those who escaped, unwilling longer to live amid the scenes of such calamity, deserted the place and settled in the fertile fields of Cile, on the banks of the Rio Grande, where they built the city of Chah-pah-she, and where the ruins of their habitations are to be seen even unto this day.

But a relentless fate pursued them even to their newly adopted home. An invading host of strange beings appeared from the far southeast. These were the Pee-nee-nees, a nation of dwarfs whose hair was milky white, and whose home was in the famed valley of the Rio Bonito. A war ensued, so terrible and relentless, that at its end not a single one of the people of Chah-pah-she survived. All were destroyed, men, women children, and their nation was extinct. Nothing remains to tell of their greatness and sad fate, but the ruins of their cities and the remnants of their sculptured monuments.

Their evil fortune descended to their conquerors, the Pee-nee-nees, for after possessing themselves of all that was to be found at Cile, they started homeward, and on their way attempted to capture the town then existing where the Pueblo of Santo Domingo now stands. But they found here a valiant and martial people, ready to protect and defend their families and firesides to the last extent. A great battle followed, and at its close more than half of the white-haired dwarfs lay dead upon the field. The rest slowly and sadly continued their homeward march, weighed down with the thoughts of the sorrowful tidings they were to carry to the homes of their comrades. But on the road sickness assailed them, and one by one fell by the way side, until all had perished, save one single survivor,—"*uno, no mas, no dos,*" emphatically said the narrator,—who carried the disastrous news to the chiefs of his people.

And to this day, no man can live amid the ruins of the city of Chah-pah-

she, for the spirits of the ancient people keep watch over the deserted firesides. One man more venturesome and foolhardy than his fellows, dared to build there, and spent his time and substance in the erection of a house so strong and solid that he believed it would be a sure protection against all enemies of earth or air, but the guardian spirits of the old inhabitants came at night to wreak a merited vengeance on the profaner of their hallowed spot, and with loud noises and strange blood curdling sights drove him away.

Such was the legend told to me on that July day, beneath a noon-day sun. The scene, the subject, the earnestness of the Indian story teller, all gave to it a kind of weird reality, and carried one back far into the past. But the day was waning and the return must be made before darkness obscured the dangerous places in the rugged road. So practical thoughts returned. "We must see the stone lions. Where are the lions?" said I. "Over there, not far," was the response.

About a third of a mile west of the Pueblo a tall pine was pointed out as being the landmark by which to find the ancient sculptures; and shaking off the slumberous effects of the legend we started in that direction, full of eagerness and expectation. When almost there, we found a singular relic of the ancient occupation, which illustrates how wonderfully expert the inhabitants must have been in the use of the few implements which they possessed. This is a perfectly rectangular hole cut in the solid rock, 12 in. by 8 on the surface, and 8 in. deep; the peculiarity being that the corners are as sharply cut and the angles as perfect as if done by the most approved steel instruments; and yet these people never possessed metallic tools of any kind. The object of this could not well be determined. At first sight it appeared as if intended to hold water, but its small size made it practically useless for any purpose of that kind. The hole had been extended by building up from the surface of the rock with squared stones around an open center of exactly the size of the hewn cavity below. Most of the stones that were built up in this manner have now fallen, but several remain in place to show the original form. Scattered around were a number of pieces of pure white quartz, unlike any in the immediate vicinity.

Passing this, and but a short distance beyond, we came upon the object of our search, the first thing visible being a circular stone wall, partly overthrown but still of considerable height. This wall, which constitutes a complete circle with the exception of a narrow entrance way, is built of great blocks of stone, hewn into parallelograms, some of which are as much as 5 ft. in length, and all of large size. Many of these have now fallen, but the wall is still from 3 to 4 ft. in height and originally must have been at least 6. The circle is 18 ft. in diameter on the inside, and the wall was about 3 ft. in thickness. The entrance, which is on the southeast, is through a passage way 20 ft. in length between walls similar to those of the circle. The internal width of this long entrance way is but 3 ft., so that a single brave and determined guard could easily have "held the fort" against any number of intruders.

Entering the enclosure we immediately see the objects which were the occasion of this extreme care and protection. The easterly half of

the circle is vacant, but in the other, facing directly toward the rising sun, and with their heads just reaching the center line, are the Two Great Stone Lions. Originally there must have been a huge rock here, but this was in the first place divided by a deep groove extending below the surface of the ground, and so making of it apparently 2 entirely distinct pieces of material, and each of these was then shaped and carved into the semblance of the mountain lion.

The first idea conveyed is one of solidity and massiveness. Here are pieces of sculpture, not of stone brought from some distant quarry, and set, even with greatest skill, in a new home—these are not the product of any foreign studio, liable again to be removed to grace the hall or grounds of some grandee, or to interest the curious visitor at some museum; but they are cut from the solid rock of the earth itself, as firmly set as the foundations of the globe. The sculptor who carved these figures meant them to endure for all time, as memorials of the people among whom he wrought. Changes might come over the face of the land, new forests might arise where then were cultivated fields; generations might pass, the nations and even the races of men who would live on the Great River might change, succeeding each other in the grand panorama of history; his own people might so entirely pass away that not even the memory of their name should be found among men; but these lions would remain as memorials of their ancient greatness, and to tell of the days that were past. And chained to the earth as they were with links of adamantine rock, they could not be made to grace the triumph of any conqueror, or to become the spoil of an unknown future race, but must remain in their original seat, unmoved, unchanged, through the ages to come. Time and the elements might efface the sharp lines of the sculpture, the wanton strokes of ignorance or enmity might destroy their symmetry and beauty; but no power on earth could lead them captive.

The body of each lion is 38 in. in length, and the broad flat tails, which stretch straight back, reach 32 in. more, making almost 6 ft. in all. Each is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide, with tails 8 in. wide; and the distance between them is about 1 ft. They face directly towards the East, a fact no doubt having symbolic significance. Until a few years since, these images were in perfect preservation. My guide said that he remembered them as they were 14 or 15 years before, and they were then entirely uninjured. But since that time, ignorant herdsmen, tending flocks in the vicinity, have often made this enclosure a resting place at night; and have requited the hospitality thus extended to them by the ancient people of the land, by wanton attempts to destroy these wonderful relics of the older civilization. With rude blows they have assailed the heads of the lions, until they are much battered, and the finer lines all destroyed. The remainder of the bodies, however, have thus far escaped attack and injury.

Hunters among the ancient Pueblos; and even to this day the hunts-

Little as we know of their origin, there can be no doubt that they were great fetiches connected with the chase, and the sacred Order of

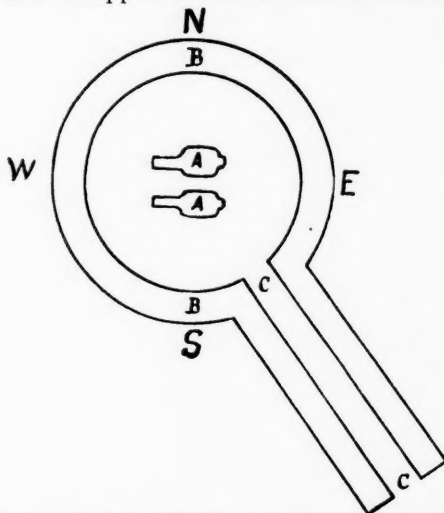
men of Cochiti make pilgrimages to the shrine, although the way is long and difficult, before starting on important expeditions in search of deer and other game, in order to insure success in the chase.

An old pinon tree fully 20 ft. high grows out from the ruins of the sacred circle of stones, bestowing a grateful shade upon the traveler who wishes to sit down and hold communion with these grim and silent representatives of a by-gone age; and at the same time, to those acquainted with the slowness of its upward growth, attests the long time that has elapsed since these walls fell into ruins.

Taken altogether, we may say without exaggeration, that these lions constitute the most important and interesting relic of antiquity within the whole of New Mexico, and perhaps the United States. No other specimens of sculpture of like size are to be found.

One other figure, somewhat similar in form and general character, exists at a short distance in the direction of Cochiti, on a height to which it has given a name as the *Perero de los Idolos*; but it has no features of interest different from these. The rock of which it originally formed a part, has been blasted asunder, perhaps in an attempt to carry off the lion as a trophy, perhaps with the pious design of destroying what was considered a heathen idol; more likely than either perhaps in the hope of finding a buried treasure over which the monarch of the forest had been placed as a perpetual guard.

No similar circular enclosures of stones are anywhere found among the ruins of our American antiquities, and no one can view this without being reminded of the weird druidical remains of ancient Britain, at Stonehenge, Callernish and Stennis, where the circle of stone was symbolical of the eternity of the Deity whom they worshiped, and the altar of solid rock was placed in the center, as the heads of the Great Stone Lions are situated in this Western shrine, ever watching for the sun-god, and his appearance in the east at the dawn of day.



A. A. STONE LIONS; B. B. CIRCULAR WALL; C. C. THE ENTRANCE

